Do not Remember
looks like my mothers h
may have been a copy
of some address or Sermon
E.A.P.

[1]

Ms.B.9.1 (6)

p. 138-139

The remedy of Slavery.

Acts 17: 18, 19, 20.— 'Then certain philosophers of the Epicureans, & of the Stoics, encountered him; & some said, What will this babbler say?

And they took & brought him unto Areopagus, saying, May we know what this new doctrine whereof thou speakest, is?

For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we would know therefore what these things mean.'

One of the strange things wh the babbler Paul brought to the ears of these Philosophers was, that God had "made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth." The text ~~I am~~ therefore seems very pertinent to my purpose. When told th. Slave holding is ever more wicked, th the slave, tho' black, is yet a man, and as such, entitled to possess the inalienable rights of man, & th sacred duty demands demands the immediate restoration of

ce rig. to, not a few, & some of them phylosophers too, regard such sentiments as strange & monstrous things, and ~~many~~ are ready to ask the man thr utters them, what will the babbler say — what is this new doctrine whereof thou speakest?

It will be my object in the present lecture, to answer this enquiry in reference to the subject before us. I have already spoken of the sin of slavery. I come now to the question of remedy. On this point I hope to be able to tell you, wht the new doctrine we speak of is, & wht the strange things we utter mean, even if I do not succeed in convincing you of their correctness.

And here, let me say, thr the time has evidently come when this subject is to undergo a new & thorough investigation, among all classes of the community. Men are springing up, in every section of the land — men too who are not to be cashiered as 'babblers,' or in the parlance of modern phylosophers, as 'visionary enthusiasts,' 'reckless incendiaries,' &c — men whose sentiments are not be set aside, or sneered out of existence, as being the result of fanaticism & overheated zeal — who tell thr their former views upon the subject have been wrong, radically wrong, & thr some new & more efficient means of remedy must speedily be adopted. They have re-investigated the subject. They have done it with fervent prayer for guidance from on high; & they have come to results

at variance or at least in advance of their former views. They now regard the matter of Slave-holding as a sin, not merely in the abstraction of theory, but in actual & present practice. They are beginning to preach, & print & talk of it as a sin; & laugh at them as it may, the whole community feels the effect thereof. Attention is awakened, discussion is elicited,— the right kind of discussion too, & not the apology, merely— the press & the pulpit are speaking, & the time has gone by, when the subject of Slavery & its remedy can avoid the light, or escape the scrutiny of strict & general examination.

The community will not & cannot be lulled to sleep much longer with cries of 'hush', 'hush', 'careful', 'careful'. Nor will it much longer be imposed on by cries of 'fanatic', 'incendiary', 'firebrand', &c. on the one hand, or be frightened by the other by cries of 'danger', 'insurrection', 'blood'. On the contrary it will claim the right of seeing for itself, on the subject; & if it be true, indeed, that Slavery has grown up to such frightful maturity, as the remedy is out of the question, & we therefore are a ruined people, the community will insist on knowing it; or if there be yet a remedy, the community will insist on knowing what it is, & on its speedy application. The subject cannot escape a thorough & rigid investigation.—

p. 140-141

And farther the investigation has begun just where it ought, & just where we should expect it to begin. To my mind it amounts almost to an axiom, that the people of the North are better qualified to judge of the true nature, & hit upon the true & best remedy of Slavery, than are the people of the South. To be sure they have no power, & I trust no desire to force any remedy on the South without its own consent. Still they are the most favorably situated to give an impartial judgment in the case, & therefore best qualified to hit upon & recommend the true & only remedy; & then they have the power & the right, nay it is their solemn duty to urge that remedy on the voluntary acceptance of the South in every possible & lawful way. Who would think of setting the rum-selling & rum-drinking part of community, to the work of devising & recommending the best remedy for intemperance? Who would set a community of slave-traders — even if they were as honest as John Newton in the matter — to the work of devising & recommending the best & most efficient remedy for slave-trading? Or would imagine, for a moment, the warped & blinded, as they must of necessity be, by interest, they would or could be the fittest & best judges on the question of remedy, though the remedy itself were devised & recommended by others? Why, then, suppose that slave-holders

R. 141 are the only, or the best qualified persons to hit upon, & recommend the proper remedy for slave-holding; or the best qualified to judge on the question of remedy, when proposed by others? Plainly they are not. Like us, they are men—men of like passions with us, & therefore however honest they may be in other respects, when you come to the matter of slavery, their judgment will inevitably be warped by fear & interest, & long established habits of thinking & feeling, just as are the judgments of other men in similar circumstances. The true remedy, therefore, if it is ever hit upon, must as a matter of course, originate with those th are not personally interested or implicated in the sin, & be recommended by them to slaveholders, & pressed on their acceptance, by every possible consideration of duty & of interest.

p. 141-142

But to the question of remedy, what is it? I remark,

1. That whatever it be, it is to be determined on general principles, & not on the supposition of excepted cases.

How much reasoning there is of this kind on this subject, you need not be told. One can hardly whisper the doctrine of immediate emancipation but he is met at once by the supposition of some extreme case, in which it is always taken for granted, that such emancipation would be certain ruin both to master & slave; & then, starting with this extreme case — the creature of interest, or a panic-struck imagination, by which all sorts of frightful things are conjured up — starting with this, as a fair representation of the slave-holding community generally, and a correct basis of reasoning, it is gravely infered that such emancipation cannot be duty! was ever reasoning more absurd?

You look out upon society, & see intemperance making its fearful havoc of the souls & bodies of men. On reflection, you are satisfied th the whole of it grows out of the habitual use of Spirit, & th no remedy can be effectual wh does not lay the axe at this root of the tree. You ∴ take the ground th such use is wicked, & th the only true doctrine of reformation is the doctrine of immediate & entire abstinence. O, no! says your neighbour, th will never do. There is friend A—; he has used Spirit so long, & his habits are so confirmed, that he would not live a week without it.

are the only, or the best qualified persons to hit upon, & recommend the proper remedy for slave-holding; or the best qualified to judge on the question of remedy, when proposed by others? Plainly they are not. Like us, they are men—men of like passions with us, & therefore however honest they may be in other respects, when you come to the matter of slavery, their judgment will inevitably be warped by fear & interest, & long established habits of thinking & feeling, just as are the judgments of other men in similar circumstances. The true remedy, therefore, if it is ever hit upon, must as a matter of course, originate with those that are not personally interested or implicated in the sin, & be recommended by them to slaveholders, & pressed on their acceptance, by every possible consideration of duty & of interest.

And farther, it ought to be understood, that in applying the remedy, whatever it be, most men would have sense enough not to apply it to the worst cases first. ~~We purpose to go first to that slaveholder whose mind is most open to conviction~~ - And so, in this case in applying the doctrine of immediate emancipation, we do not intend to apply it to the worst cases first. We purpose to go first to that Slave-holder whose mind is most open to conviction, and whose case there are fewest obstacles to emancipation — fewest difficulties & fewest dangers, & ply his conscience with the doctrine, & when we have succeeded with him, we purpose to go to another, & ply his conscience, & add to all our other motives, the example of his neighbour, & so on. And if in the end we find some extreme cases that do not admit the possibility of remedy, without the direful results anticipated, all we can do is to meet them, & let the individual die in his sin, rather than abandon general principles, & thus sacrifice public to private good. Our business is with the public, & if therefore, the scheme of remedy that is best for the public as a whole operates hardly here & there on the individual, it is indeed to be regretted, but nevertheless we must abide by general principles. It is better that one member perish than that the whole body be cast into hell. —

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I remark again 2. That the remedy, whatever it be, must respect the rights & interests of the injured, in preference to those of the injurers. This is demanded on every principle of justice & humanity. If the case in respect to slavery is a desperate one, so that there is no alternative but th the rights & interests of one or the other must be sacrificed, then I hesitate not to affirm th those of the master must yield to those of the slave. If there be no remedy in the case save one th shall compromit, in whole or in part, the interests & rights of one or the other, then it is a clear case, that, that party shoud suffer which is in the wrong.

Nor will it answer for the slave-holder to say in reply, that the state of society in which he finds himself is not one of his own choosing; th the evil of slaveholding & slave-holding is entailed on him, & is his misfortune & not his crime. If it be so, he is bound to bear it as his; & it is only adding insult & injury to attempt to throw it off from himself upon his poor slave. The slave's own cup is full enough of bitterness. He has as much misfortune of his own as he can well bear. The master has no right to add his to it. If it be his calamity, he must meet it as his, & not screen himself, & redeem his misfortunes at the expense of his already too much injured slave;

third farther, it ought to be understood, that in applying the remedy, whatever it be, most men would have sense enough not to apply it to the worst cases first. ~~We propose to go first to that slaveholder whose mind is most open to conviction~~ - And so, in this case in applying the doctrine of immediate emancipation, we do not intend to apply it to the worst cases first. We purpose to go first to that slave-holder whose mind is most open to conviction, and whose case there are fewest obstacles to emancipation — fewest difficulties & fewest dangers, & ply his conscience with the doctrine, & when we have succeeded with him, we purpose to go to another, & ply his conscience, & add to all our other motives, the example of his neighbour, & so on. And if in the end we find some extreme cases that do not admit the possibility of remedy, without the direful results anticipated, all we can do is to meet them, & let the individual die in his sin, rather than abandon general principles, & thus sacrifice public to private good. Our business is with the public, & if therefore, the scheme of remedy, that is best for the public as a whole operates hardly here & there on the individual, it is indeed to be regretted, but nevertheless we must abide by general principles. It is better that one member perish than that the whole body be cast into hell. -

of many of its abettors, it is still a scheme who takes sides with
the oppressor against the oppressed, & sets up his imaginary
claims as paramount to those which God & nature give.
It puts its foot along with the oppressors, on the neck of the
oppressed, & cannot therefore be either an equitable or efficient
scheme of remedy. Under the government of a righteous
God, oppression can never be remedied by oppression.

& though you may think the every thing is ripe for immediate action, others may take the liberty to differ from you, just as you now take the liberty to differ from us; & how then are you going to make the multitude think with you, & take the same stand with you? or rather lead the way for you? And, these difficulties removed, how will you contrive to get the master's consent? How will you show him th the condition of his instructed, well-fed & well clothed slaves, is not infinitely better than it would be, if they were free; & th he is not therefore bound, on the principles of benevolence, to retain them in that happy servitude?

And difficulties of this character being overcome, how are you going to manage these instructed slaves when you set them free? Will instruction make them all Christians, & cause them to return good for evil? Or will it, in the vast majority of cases, only kindle the spirit of revenge to deeper indignation, & arm it to greater mischief? And if, as you say, so keen is the sense of injury, & so rife is the spirit of revenge among them now, when most senseless & stupid, that the announcement of freedom would be but the watchword of insurrection & blood, what are you th to do when they shall become instructed? Will not the sense of injury then be

immediate of immediate emancipation? And besides, admitting th you have gotten over all the difficulties in the way of instruction, &c. how will you contrive to keep these instructed ones quiet? When, most stupid & brutish, they have, as you say, so much of sense, th they feel their wrongs most keenly, & so much of Spirit, th they pant for the opportunity to avenge them. How then will you keep them quiet, as the work of instruction goes on? Will they feel their wrongs less keenly as their minds become more enlightened, & they are thus enabled to understand & appreciate them, in all their length & breadth, & height & depth? What is fact? Do the most enlightened slaves feel their wrongs less keenly, or breathe less of the Spirit of revenge than others? How then are you going to keep them quiet?

But suppose you succeed in this, & the time does at last come for you th take the ground of immediate emancipation, how are you going to work out the desired result? How are you going to make your gradualism of theory & practice slide off into immediatism? Will you take your stand alone? Ten to one they will call you a 'fanatic' or an 'incendiary' if you do. Will you wait, then until you can go with the multitude? Many men have many minds,

dead soon, or his master will be dead, & he be sold to another master who will not send him to school. Ten to one he is not emancipated after all.

Not emancipated! But he is instructed, & what more could you ask? All you have to do now is just to set him free.

P. 150-151

Indeed! A very easy matter truly! And you intend intend to become an immediate emancipationist,— you intend to stop crying gradual & cry immediate, by & by; & this is what you mean by gradual emancipation! So soon as the slave gets instructed, & every thing else is in readiness, then you intend to abandon your gradualism, & take the ground of immediatism! We take the ground now, because we think things are as much in readiness as they ever will be, & you intend to take it by & by. A time is coming when you mean to be an immediate emancipationist!

Will you tell us, when? Is it one, ten, fifty, a hundred, or two hundred years hence? Is it before or after you are dead?— before or after the present generation of slaves are dead? before or after slavery has severed the Union & brought down upon us the judgments of an insulted & sin-avenging God? "Vengence is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord." Do then tell us when you intend to take the ground of

Well then the problem of gradual emancipation. Please to work it out, for I have some curiosity to know what it means.

Why, instruct him.

Ay, a simple thing truly, & then so easy & expeditious too! But never mind; we'll try. And to be the more sure of success we will begin immediately. The teacher is all ready. The master has given his consent, and the time is allotted to the slave for his instruction. Now if he does not have his freedom, he may thank himself for it. Well, here he comes; but— but, what a stupid dunce! And then he says he is fresh from the field & is tired, or it is Sunday, & it is the only time th he has to go & see his wife on the next plantation. Do you think such a stupid lazy, love-sick fellow as this is going to learn any thing?

So be sure. Why, sir, you have no idea how fast the slaves learn.

And so stupid too! Those 'human-brutes,' so unfit for freedom! Well we will go on. The slave is instructed th day, but he is a slave yet. He is instructed to-morow, & yet he is a slave. The next day he is instructed, & then the next; the next month, & then the next; the next year & then the next— next— next, & yet (for though an old man, he is not, we will suppose, dead) he is but a slave — instructed to be sure, but yet a slave. He is not emancipated. You must make haste, or his schooling will do him no good; for he will b

keener, & the Spirit of revenge fiercer? As you make proclamation of freedom, will not these oppressed, but instructed ones, who have seen their wrongs more clearly, & felt them more keenly, than while in ignorance, turn upon their masters, and, with vengeance in their eye, demand why they did not give them their freedom before? In a word, how will you avoid the evils of immediate & universal emancipation at that time? While you have been getting rid of some difficulties, will not others have risen up? How will you guard against, & how dispose of them?

And besides, such an emancipation is only an emancipation of form -&c

gradual, then schemes that are built on the doctrine of gradual emancipation, are not schemes of emancipation at all, but rather schemes of perpetual & everlasting servitude; & third, that there are none so blind as those who will not see.

The distinction I have made is a most obvious one. The veriest child can see & understand it. On the one scheme, I come to the conscience of the community as a community, & of the individual as an individual, with the pressure of immediate duty — duty now — duty on the spot; & if in point of fact, it be only here & there one at a time who yeilds to the pressure & repents — what then? Am I to be cashiered as a gradualist, & my scheme of repentance as mere gradualism? Not by men of sense & candor.

My remark then is this, that slavery can never be remedied by any schemes of gradual emancipation — i.e. by any schemes which are built, & which act on the principle that gradual emancipation is the duty of the master & the right of the slave. And the plain reason is, the principle of reform, with which they start and on which they proceed, is a wrong principle. It does not reach the vital power of the mischief. This is clear; for in the first place, the doctrine on which these schemes are built is a false doctrine. It expressly asserts the present

But without waiting for answer to these inquiries, I will proceed with my remarks. It should be recollected here, that different schemes of emancipation take their names from the different doctrines on which they are based, rather than from their actual operation. Thus the scheme of Immediate Emancipation is built upon the doctrine, that immediate emancipation is the duty of the master & the right of the slave, & take their name accordingly. Now the actual operation of the doctrine of immediate emancipation may be gradual on the community, taken as a community — just as is the doctrine of immediate repentance. Indeed, the doctrine of immediate emancipation is nothing more or less than that of immediate repentance, applied to this particular sin; & therefore in this case, as in others, its actual operation on the community as such, may be gradual. It may in point of fact become the power of God to the actual repentance of one here & another there, & not of the whole community at once. And if any are disposed to rate out at this, that after all it is nothing but a scheme of gradual emancipation, then I have only to say first if this be so, that there is no such thing as immediate repentance in respect to any sin, & the doctrine that teaches it is false; & second, that if this scheme be

emancipation is not duty, & therefore virtually asserts that present Slaveholding is duty, & is not therefore sin.

Sinners — with Ms. B. 9.1 (6)

Wh.t cd h.e done more in my vineyard &c

Circ.st of text — Sentiment — applic. alike to dis. & sin — apply it to sinners

Bod. Q habitually does all that the nature of case admit for the salvation of {men / sinners} —

Ex. (meaning) do not mean to limit &c but, e.g. atone. (& just punish) e.g. criminal = Knapps &c This leads me to say :— 1. the Q acts on men & must of necessity as rulers & not as a mere isolated individ.l &c. ——

~~Proof:~~ —— 2 in & way of a ruler = modus operandi.

~~Wh.t is the is fact? I. Take Adam~~ e.g.

Wh.t is this way? 1. law. 2. magistracy. 3. direct agency & wan this in subserviency to rules.

Wh.t then is fact? Does Q do all he can in these ways to save men? For with.t going into the proof in detail I ask 1. wh.t could h.e done more in & way of law?

2. Ditto. in & way of magistracy?

3. Ditto Direct Agency. — Take Adam for example — Q's arrang.s as perf.t as they can be.

Do you say tendencies to sin in others greater? — So me & tend.s of.t it — & accumulating motive; show how —

Rev A. S.

16. C

Mr Harding.

Acts 16:30 – Not. Unit. Cath[q]s — give true & true &c
something peculiar – I do – attend to passivity not suffer – I'm not God.
Not. fact & diff answers in form given to this quest. Acts 2:37
Insp[n] tinctures imagt &c my design is to state 3:19

I Wh[t] y must not do.

1. must not rely on unscript[l] grounds for salvat[n] = Saint.

e.g (1) not rely on min[rs] or other Christ[n] friends.

(2) amiable nat. qualities

(3) morality

(4) The undefined mercy of G – as if the perfection of his gov[t] consist[d] in its being elastic.

(5) nor on y[r] convict[n] &c as if they recommended you to God.

2. must not seek salvat[n] in an unscriptural manner.

e.g – (1) by doing nothing. – machine with t power of occasional action

(2) by waiting for special times & seasons – "He that observeth t wind shall not sow & he that regardeth t clouds shall not reap"

(3) by praying for relig. in dist[n] of pardon, while at the same time they neglect to do ~~something~~ what they require ~~to find it~~ & what if done would make the christ[n]

(4) by clinging to ~~causes~~ doubts & causes – e.g a want of feeling = no Love – Obj[n] but sh I act blindly? &c No – test them by carrying them to t judge

(5) by seeking some royal road to heaven (but one strait gate)

3. by attempting obedience to unscript[l] requir[ts]

e.g – (1) make a new soul (2) or new faculty or (3) new taste or (4) new something –

II Wh[t] y must do – Trust & receive &c –

But y will ask why is t scriptural manner?

III Reasons why y sh[d] – (1) You can

(2) It is right you sh[d]. (3) G wishes it – why then allow sin &c surely if G he will make me do it –

(4) all holy beings wish it (joy in heaven &c)

(5) You must or perish – nat. of case shows no alternative

with Ms.B.9.1 (6)

March 22 — " — Married Mr [illegible]
Miss Lucy C. Herrick both of Hopkinton.

" 28 " " — Married Mr Joseph V. Newton to
Miss Fidelia J. Loring both of Hopkinton

April 19 " " — Married Mr Gilman Ball to
Miss Mary Ann Fitch both of Hopkinton

Attest Amos A Phelps Minister of the Gospel

Hopkinton April 19th 1832

Rec'd 1st May Communion Service to
with thanks I declare of Hopkinton
(Cider and Fig pound Wound)

250
264
2